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Mahavira, Devgarh, Post-Gupta

On the Emblem of Abhinandana

P. C. DASGUPTA

It is well-known from early texts that the 24 Tirthankaras are associated with their respective cognizances or symbols carrying imports seemingly concerning cultural and religious traditions of remote antiquity. Thus, the bull of Rsabha, the elephant of Ajitanatha, the horse of Sambhavanatha and the deer of Santinatha have their respective position in the Jaina iconography. Obviously, the idealisation of animals, plants and symbols in the field of mythology and folk-lore may be traced within a vast repertoire of archaeological materials dating from prehistoric times. Such traits are present in the Indus-valley and in the Chalcolithic of Post-Harappa. The seals and painted pottery of Harappa civilization are actually eloquent in this respect. Evidently, the Nature with its diversity of life and environments have inspired the art of mankind since the dawn of civilization and this is manifest in the vestiges of early cities and farming settlements of the ancient world mainly stretching from the Aegean isles down to the deserts of Africa and the endless terrains and river-valleys of the Orient. The feature has virtually acquired its significance in various regions of the world whether it be Mexico or Peru or Western Asia. The mammoth, the bull and the reindeer have found place in the art of Europe as early as in the Upper Palaeolithic which obviously belongs to the Pleistocene measurable as it were by the Glacial phenomena. Crete, Asia-Minor, Egypt, Mesopotamia and other regions have their own significant share in the veneration for the variegated aspects of Nature with her multitudinous forms of plants and animals. In this perspective the figures of divine animals and other motifs in ancient Indian art have a mystic and subtle meaning which are sometimes as traditional as those of a convergent civilization of mankind or of parallel ideals gaining conviction through comparable ingenuity among nations. While the lion, the bull, the elephant, the horse, the tortoise or the snake are equally significant in Hindu iconography, a somewhat comparable array

Monkey worshipping the rising sun from 17th century manuscript illustration

of motifs may also be noticed in the prodigious and multi-hued concepts of the Mahayana Buddhism. If considered in the context of human groups diffusing culture before, during, and after the Urban Revolution since prehistoric times the symbolism derived from animals and other motifs will reveal, as it appears, a heritage from distant past. The ideals and motifs disappearing with the buried vestiges of civilizations have often been traced in the faith and convention of surviving cultures. If considered from this stand-point the cult-figure of monkey associated with Abhinandana, the 4th Tirthankara may likewise offer a history of its own or at least a distinctive feature of a very ancient religion. According to the legend, Abhinandana was the son of Sambara and Siddhartha who ruled in Ayodhya Due to the immense prosperity of the city when he was in his mother's womb he was named Abhinandana signifying a respectful welcome. His emblem was a monkey which may be observed as usual in the image of the Jina. This emblem evokes significant comparisons in the perspective of cultural ideals and the memory of folk-lore and icons through the ages The representation of a simian deity, a guardian of knowledge and sublime ideals can be noticed in the religion and art of Egypt where Thoth or Tehuti created by Ra, the Sun-god and the Lord of creation, has been attributed the forms of the sacred ibis, the crane or the dog ape In the iconographic art of Dynastic Egypt Thoth, the healing god and the presiding deity of Learning is represented as having the head of an ibis or the dog ape According to the Egyptian myth as recorded by Donald A. Mackenzie, Ra, the sun-god spoke to Thoth "For thee, O Thoth, I shall make a resplendent abode in the great deep and the under-world which is Duat Thou shalt record the sins of men, and the names of those who are mine enemies; in Duat thou shalt bind them Thou shalt be temporary dweller in my palace; thou art my deputy. Lo I now give messengers unto thee."[1] As desired by Ra "came into being by his power the ibis, the crane, and the dog ape, the messengers of Thoth."[2] Donald A. Mackenzie observes that "Here the old lunar deity Thoth is associated with the dawn. The chattering of apes at sunrise gave origin to the idea that they worshipped the rising sun."[3] This interpretation achieves a greater dimension in the light of a general analysis of folk-lore and mythology in India which either idealises or deifies the monkey. In fact, the Buddhist legends are eloquent of this aspect having their place of honour in the reliefs of Bharhut and Sanchi. Thus, the *Mahakapi Jataka* (No. 407) relates the tale of the Bodhisattva when he was born as a monkey. The Mahakapi, a leader of monkeys greatly impressed the king of Benares by his heroic nobility and sacrifice

[1] *Egyptian Myth and Legend*, p. 11

[2] *Ibid*

[3] *Ibid* foot-note

in helping his followers to escape from being shot by the King's archers. Fatally injured by Devadatta, also a monkey at the time when he was rescueing his horde by stretching his own body to complete a bamboo-bridge over the Ganga the dying Boddhisattva was given a regal honour by the king who felt a genuine admiration for his courage and sacrifice The theme has been depicted in Sunga idiom both on the railing of Bharhut as also on the West Gateway (right pillar) of Stupa I of Sanchi.[4] The *Mahakapi Jātaka* II (No. 516) also relates how the Bodhisattva was born as a monkey and in that existence forgave an ungrateful husbandman who lost his way in search of his strayed oxen and fell into the depth of a dangerous pit in the dense forest of the Himalayas. Though the monkey rescued him from the deep pit the man 'hit him on the head with a stone' when he was tired and asleep after saving the life of the same person. Despite this mean and ignominious act the Boddhisattva guided him towards safety and returned amidst his sylvan home. A relief at Bharhut depicts the moments when the husbandman is carried by the monkey on his back and the man repays it by striking him with a rock.[5] These *Jātaka* stories reveal an ideal and thereby attribute a sublime moral and nobility to the monkey as the image of the Bodhisattva ever manifesting a perfection of character and a spiritual grandeur. The story of the offering of a bowl of honey to Buddha is another absorbing tale which highlights an ancient faith or a myth of variegated origin. In the accounts of the travels of Yuan Chwang in India there is a reference to the legend. While describing his journey to the country of Vaisali (Fei-she-li) the Chinese pilgrim refers to the Monkey Tank (Sanskrit Markata Hrada) and the story of the devotion of the monkeys towards the Buddha.[6] After relating about the tope that commemorated the attainment of

Thoth worshipping the rising sun
The Egyptian Museum, Cairo

[4] Marshall: *Guide to Sanchi*, pp. 78-79; N G Majumdar. *A Guide to the Sculptures in the Indian Museum*, Part I, pp.36-60.

[5] N G. Majumdar . A *Guide to the Sculptures in Indian Museum*, p. 39

[6] Watters: *On Yuan Chwang's Travels in India*, edited by (after his death) Rhys Davids and Bushell, Delhi, 1961.

arhat-ship by Sariputra and others Yuan Chwang next tells about the Monkey Tank, which was to the south of a stone pillar about 50 feet high surmounted by a lion, at an Asokan tope to the north-west of the Relic tope. He says the Tank (or Pond) had been made by monkeys for the Buddha, and that the latter resided at this place. Near the west side of the Tank, he continues, "was a tope on the spot at which the monkeys took the Buddha's bowl up a tree for honey to give him; near the south bank was a tope at the place where the monkeys presented the honey; and near the north east corner of the Tank was a picture (or image) of a monkey "[7] While the story is laid here at Vaisali there are variations which have laid it at Sravasti or at Mathura The story given by the Chinese text *Hsien-yu-ching* tells of a Brahmin boy at Sravasti who was born by the blessings of the Buddha [8] When the boy was born he was given the name Madhurasaci (Mo-t' ou-lo-se-chih, Chinese Mi-sheng) since "the honey-vessels became full of honey" during his birth. Afterwards, the boy became a disciple of the Buddha "who explained to Ananda that Mi-sheng in a long-past previous existence had been a bhiksu, that he had then once been disrespectful to a senior Brother. The senior rebuked him gently and Mi-sheng was penitent, but he had to suffer punishment for his thoughtless rude language by 500 births as a monkey. It was in the last of these births that the incident of the honey-offering occurred " Once Buddha with his disciples was taking rest under some trees by the side of a tank close to Sravasti when his bowl was taken by a monkey, the former bhiksu, and was offered to him after it was filled with honey. At first the Buddha returned the bowl to remove the insects from the honey. When it was cleaned and added with water and thereby made 'pure' for the bhiksus the bowl of honey was accepted by the Buddha At this the monkey "frisked about with delight until he fell and was drowned in the pit below But by the merit of the gift of the honey he was immediately born again as a human creature and became the disciple Mi-sheng." Other Chinese texts give some variations of the episode.[9] According to one version the bhiksu was named Madhu-Vasistha Another account calls him Mi-hsing, i e., Honey-nature There are other versions with regards to Mi-sheng or Mi-hsing. While one of these tells that the monkey frisked about with delight but did not fall into the water another one narrates that he expired and was born in Paradise. This story was heard by Yuan Chwang as an explanation of the name Mathura which scholars equate with Madhura.[10] In this connection another episode has been recalled by

[7] *Ibid.*, Vol II, p. 65
[8] *Ibid.*, Vol. I, p. 310.
[9] *Ibid.*, Vol 1, pp 310-11
[10] *Ibid.*, Vol. I p 311

Watters. According to the story Buddha once told that Upagupta was previously born as a monkey (or ape) and later on being chief of a troop of monkeys at Urumanda "made offerings and showed much kindness to 500 Pratyeka Buddhas who were living on another part of Urumanda. The merit of his conduct to those worthies brought the monkey birth as a human being in his next existence, and in it, as the bhiksu Upagupta, he rose to be a most successful preacher, a peerless saint, and a Buddha in all but the bodily signs "[11] As regards the story of the offering of honey to Buddha Watters has noted that "Markata was the name of a man, a Vrijjian or Vajji-putta."[12]

The incident of Honey offering located at Sravasti or Vaisali or Mathura has been visualised in the relief of the right pillar of the North Gateway of Stupa I at Sanchi. "The monkey first appears with the bowl as offering the honey and then with empty hand after the offering has been made "[13] Here it is extremely interesting to note that a "pleasant

Stupa I, North Gateway, Right Pillar, Sanchi c. 1st Cen B.C.

Bronze, Saqqara, Egypt

Both the sculptures visualise a comparable devotion and a respectful poise

[11] *Ibid.*
[12] *Ibid.*, Vol II p 66
[13] *Ibid.*, pp. 59-60.

and touching bronze of a monkey with an offering" had been discovered at Saqqara in Egypt during excavations conducted at the site by Prof. W. B. Emery a number of years ago.[14] The excavations showed relics of the cult of Imhotep-Asklepios in Saite-Persian and Saite-Ptolemaic epochs from 6th century B.C. down to the era of Roman conquest. Both the sculptures at Sanchi and Saqqara visualise a comparable devotion and a respectful poise. The intimate faith conveyed by the motif at Sanchi has its fount in the deep respect for the transcendental in the world of pervading knowledge and Truth familiar in the cultural landscape of India from time immemorial. It is difficult to presume whether the simian devotee at Saqqara belongs to Thoth or depicts the legend of Honey-offering to Buddha. Regular trade between India and Egypt was well-established in the age of the Ptolemys According to the opinion of Sir Flinders Petrie "Buddhism and Buddhist festivals had already reached the shores of Egypt" in the Ptolemaic period.[15] His view is not only based on Indian figures found at Memphis but also on an epigraph from the Thebaid which contains the name of the dedicator "Sophon the Indian".[16] If the statuary unearthed within the precincts of the shrine dedicated to Imhotep-Asklepios, the god of Medicine and benign treatment of the afflicted, does represent the monkey offering honey to Buddha, which is most likely, it may recall the provision of medical treatment of men and animals made in the realm of Antiyaka (probably Antiochos II of Syria) and in its neighbouring countries by Asoka whose Buddhist predilection is well-known. The Rock Edict XIII clearly states that the *Dharma* of of Asoka was propagated in foreign countries including the realm of Tulamaya identified as Egypt probably under Ptolemy Philadelphos On a comparable emotional plane the Saqqara bronze portrays the devotion of a monkey who understands the glory of the Emancipated Herein perhaps also lies the significance of Abhinandana's association with a monkey. The singular story of the offering of honey to Buddha has also found place in the art of Gandhara. In this connection, it may be recalled that even the 500 Pratyeka Buddhas of Urumanda also received offerings from Upagupta when he was born as a monkey in his previous existence. The story of offering of honey by a monkey living in a forest with a horde

[14] *The Illustrated London News*, August 5, 1967, pp 25-27, fig 15.

[15] H. C Ray Chaudhuri *Political History of Ancient India*, 4th edition, p 520. Mahaffy. *A History of Egypt under the Ptolemaic Dynasty*

[16] *Ibid*

[17] D. H. Gordon *The Prehistoric Background of Indian Culture*, Bombay 1960 A primitive nation who carved a kingdom in China after arriving from regions along the upper reaches of the Yellow river at the end of the *T'ang* period also claimed descent from monkeys *Vide*, Sachindranath Chattopadhyay: *Maha-Chiner Itikatha* (in Bengali), p. 248.

The self-sacrifice of the monkey leader
A scene from Mahakapi Jataka, Bharhut
2nd-1st century B.C.

is suggestive of as primitive a culture as that of the 'jungle-dwellers' of Mahadeo Hills in Madhya Pradesh whose paintings depict scenes of hunting, dancing and honey-taking.[17] The themes of the *Māhakapi Jataka* nos I and II are also suggestive of an unvarnished and upright primitive culture not yet degenerating in violence and ingratitude.

The emblem of Abhinandana acquires an unmeasured significance in the perspective of the Buddhist annals and the story of the *Rāmāyaṇa.* The latter so closely associates the monkey-hero Hanumana with the divine glory of Rama, the Ikshvaku prince of Ayodhya. Though the legend of Rama and Hanumana have created a great mural of episodes of edifying value, it is difficult to overlook that Ayodhya like Sravasti belonged to the same kingdom of Kosala. The legends associated with Vaisali and Mathura will highlight a wider perspective. As regards

the capital of Kosala Dr. H. C. Raychaudhuri remarks. "Ayodhya seems to have been the earliest capital, and Saketa the next. The last capital was Sravasti. Ayodhya had sunk to the level of an unimportant town in Buddha's time, but Saketa and Sravasti were included among the six great cities of India "[18] While Rama and Abhinandana belong to Ayodhya a legend tells that it was Sravasti where Gautama Buddha was offered honey by a monkey born later as the 'Honey-lad' Madhura-sachi or Madhu-Vasistha. The legend with its rare communion and distinctive appeal has been expressed by a relief at Sanchi as already mentioned. Symbolising wisdom and learning since time immemorial the cult of the ape is often associated with the Sun and Eternity. There are sculptures in the Egyptian Museum in Cairo which envisage "The god Thoth, as a baboon (*cynocephalus*) adoring the rising sun."[19] Hanumana is devoted to Rama who is an incarnation of Vishnu, one of the Vedic Adityas representing the Sun. The Bodhisattvas can be as great as Indra (Sakka) or Maghava in conformity with the *Kulavaka Jataka* and the *Sakkapanha Sutta* while the knowledge and realisation of Gautama Buddha, the Pratyeka Buddhas and the Tirthankaras have drawn them away from the cycle of rebirths and thereby far beyond the horizon of heavenly *Vimānas*.

I am gratefully indebted to Sri D. K Chakravarty and Dr S C. Mukherji, Superintendents of the Directorate of Archaeology, West Bengal for kindly rendering their learned assistance in preparation of this article.

[18] H. C. Ray Chaudhuri: *Political History of Ancient India*, p. 90.

[19] *Egyptian Museum*, published by the Egyptian State Tourist Administration, Cairo, 1957, p. 37.

Tamil Puranas

—sri puranam and meru mandara puranam—

RAMA KANT JAIN

The literary history of Tamil language dates back to *circa* 4th-3rd century B.C. and we get a number of poetic compositions of excellence in that language from the very beginning, but it appears that *Purāṇas* in that language have had a very late origin. Tamil works with the suffix '*Puranam*' are fewer in number than those in Kannada, Sanskrit and Apabhramsha. Tamil *Purāṇas* which are available to us are said to have been produced generally in the third epoch of the literary history of that language (*circa* 1200-1800 A.D.). *Setu Puranam*, *Bhagwat Puranam*, *Periya Puranam*, *Prabu Linga Lila Puranam*, *Sheerappuranam* (by Muslim poet Nabi Muhammad), *Meru-Mandara Puranam* and *Sri Puranam* are the known important Tamil *Purāṇas* of the period. *Purāṇa* literature of other languages has also been translated into Tamil and in the modern period (beginning from 1801 A.D.) Arumuga Navalar has written several stories based on *Periya Puranam*. In the present paper I propose to confine myself only to the Jaina works *Sri Puranam and Meru Mandara Puranam*.

Sri Puranam is said to be the creation of an unknown writer. Dealing with the stories of 24 Tirthankaras, 12 Cakravartins, 9 Vasudevas, 9 Baladevas and 9 Prativasudevas the work is said to be very popular among Jainas of Tamilnadu though its manuscripts are confined to palmleaves and it has not yet come out in print on paper. This *Purāṇa* is written in an enchanting prose in *maṇi-pravāla* style, i.e., Tamil mixed with Sanskrit. Although we are not definite about the time of its composition it is said to have been based on the Sanskrit *Mahāpurāṇa* written by Jinasena and Gunabhadra and on the Kannada *Trisastisalakapurusa Puranam* of Camundaraya. Hence, we can assign it to a date after the 10th century A.D. As this work narrates the life stories of the above mentioned sixty-three heroes on the anology of Camundaraya's Kannada *Purāna*, it has also been named as *Trisastisalakapurusa Puranam*. This puranic treasure has served a basis for several isolated stories written by later Tamil writers. It may be mentioned here that there are some more *Purāṇas* dealing with the life stories of the aforesaid 63 greatmen such as *Sri Purāṇa* by Hastimalla, *Triṣaṣṭilakṣaṇa Mahāpurāṇa* by Mallisena, *Triṣaṣṭi-śalākā-puruṣa*

Caritra by Hemacandracarya, *Purānasāra Sangraha* by Damnandi, *Adipurāṇa* and *Uttarapurāṇa* by Lalita Kirti and *Mahāpurāṇa* by Puspadanta. Excepting *Mahāpurāṇa* of Puspadanta which is in Apabhramsha, all these works are in Sanskrit

Now coming to *Meru Mandara Puranam*, the other important Tamil Jain *Purāṇa*, we are definite about its author and his times. It is said to be the composition of Vamana Muni who lived about the time of Bukkaraya, king of Vijayanagar empire, in the 14th century A.D. It has already been published with introduction and notes by the late Prof. A Chakravarti in the thirties of the present century. Though it is not included in the category of *kāvyas*, it resembles in excellence of literary diction the best of Tamil *kāvya* literature and hence is considered to be one of the important Tamil classics. The work narrates the stories of prevoius births of two princes, Meru and Mandara and expounds important doctrines of Jaina philosophy through the frame-work of the story. The story of the previous briths of Meru and Mandara, the heroes of this *Purāṇa*, already finds place in Chapter LIX in 212 verses (verses 108-319) in the *Uttarapurāṇa* of Gunabhadra (*circa* 897 A.D.) and is said to have served a basis for this work The learned composer, Vamana Muni, elaborated it in 1405 stanzas dividing them into 30 chapters. It may be interesting to note that this story is also contained generally in all other *Mahāpurāṇas* which had been in existence at the time of its composition. At least in Chapter LVII dealing with Sanjayanta-Meru-Mandara episode in Apabhramsha *Mahāpurāṇa* of Puspadanta we find it Not only this, Samantabhadracarya (*circa* 2nd century A.D.) in *śloka* 19, Chapter III, in his *Ratnakaranda Srāvakācāra* in Sanskrit had made a reference to Satyaghosa, one of the characters of this puranic story, as an example of one who had to suffer on account of telling lie. Prabhacandra (*circa* 11th century A.D.) in his Sanskrit commentary on the said work elucidated the anecdote further. There are, however, some minor variations in different versions of the story which is but natural

From the above dissertation it is evident that the theme of both these Tamil *Purāṇas* was not new, but the credit of presenting the same in Tamil in a befitting manner and in their own style goes to the learned composers. It is hoped that these Tamil *Purāṇas* would provide interesting material for those doing comparative study of the various works on the same theme.

Omniscient Beings

HARISATYA BHATTACHARYYA

(from the previous issue)

The Stage Penultimate to Liberation and Omniscience: The Advaita Vedānta View

Omniscience is impossible in both a liberated and an unliberated soul, according to the absolute monist school of the Vedanta philosophy. But it is possible in a highly developed sage. It is said that a Naiyayika, in order to test the profoundness of Sankara's knowledge, once asked him to explain the difference between the conceptions of liberation, of the Nyaya and the Vaisesika schools The questioning Naiyayika was a very conceited person and so addressed Sankara as follows:

vada sarvaciccet no cet pratijñam tyaja sarvavittve
—Samkṣepa-Sankara-Vijayah

If you are omniscient, answer the question; if not, give up your contention about omniscience.

From the above, it is apparent that according to the thinkers of the Advaita school, omniscience is not impossible. Sankara has said that to the nature of a liberated soul or Brahman, omniscience, omnipotence etc: (*sarvajñatvam sarveśvaratvañca*) are not to be attributed.

na caitanyavat svarūpatva sambhavah
—Vedānta-Sūtra-bhāṣye, 4-4-6

But he admits that supernaturalities like omniscience, etc are possible in a determined (*saguṇa*) soul, in a certain stage of its development.

vidyamānamevedam saguṇāvasthāyāmaiśvaryam bhumā vidyāstutaye samkīrtate
—Vedanta-Sūtra-bhāṣye, 4-4-11

In other words, Sankara's opinion is that by worshipping the '*saguṇa Brahma*' the worshipper while attaining his likeness etc.

(*sāyujya*), becomes possessed of such supernaturalities as omniscience, etc.

Saguṇa-vidyā-vipāka-sthānantvetat
—*Sūtra-bhāṣye*, 4-4-16

The Stage Penultimate to Liberation and Omniscience: The Buddhist View

sarvajñah sugato buddhah dharma-rāja-stathāgatah

The word, *sarvajña* in the above list of Buddha's names shows that although omniscience, according to him, is impossible in a mundane being or in a being who has entered the *nirvāna*, it is possible in a person, in a certain stage of mental development. Neither sensuous knowledge nor inference can yield omniscience for, not only is the range of such forms of knowledge limited but they are after all vague and indistinct. Without a full and clear knowledge of objects the knower cannot be said to have attained omniscience This perfect and the clearest possible knowledge about all the things of the universe has been called the *sphutābha* knowledge by the Buddhist thinkers According to them, the *sphutābha* is due to a direct perception which is 'peculiar to sages' (*yogi-pratyakṣa*) The ordinary knowledge about objects which we get through the *pramāṇa* or empiric sources of knowledge is *bhūtārtha* and to contemplate the *bhūtārtha* again and again is *bhūtārtha-bhāvana*. As a result of the *bhūtārtha-bhāvana* the knowledge of its object comes to be clearer and clearer The *bhutārtha-bhāvana* has various stages, but these do not yield the full and the perfect knowledge about things, until the last stage, *bhāvanā-prakarṣa-paryanta*, is reached. From the *bhāvanā-prakarṣa-paryanta* is evolved a direct apprehension about objects in the mind of the sage, which is called the *yogi-pratyakṣa*—the perception of a sage.

bhutārtha-bhavanā-prakarṣa-parvantajam yogi-jñānam ceti
—*Nyāya-Vindu, Paricchedah* 1

The three forms of perception, viz., sense-perception (*indriya-jñāna*), internal perception (*mānasa-pratyakṣa*), and self-perception (*sva-samvedana*) cannot yield omniscience; neither can inference (*anumāna*) yield it For, all these modes of cognition are imperfect and indistinct. The fourth mode of perception, according to the Buddhists, is the *yogi-pratyakṣa;* which we have just noticed, however, that even the perceptual stage, penultimate to the *yogi-pratyakṣa*,—the *bhūtārtha-bhāvanā-prakarṣa-paryanta*,—does not give perfect and the clearest possible

knowledge about objects. It is said that the knowledge obtained at this is like the knowledge of a thing, seen through a thin, transparent substance :

abhraka-vayavahitamiva yadā bhāvyamānam vastu paśyati, sāprakarṣa-paryantāvasthā

—*Nyāya-Vindu-tīkā*

The object when seen is *yogi-pratyakṣa* is like a small fruit in one's hand, perceived in the perfect and the clearest possible manner.

karatalāmalakavadbhāvyamānasyārthasya yaddarśanam tad yoginah pratyakṣam taddhi sphutābham

—*Nyāya-Vindu-tīkā*

As a result of this uncommon perception, peculiar to a sage, the objects of the universe were apprehended by Buddha and saints like him, 'like the Amalaka-fruit in hand' and they succeeded in attaining omniscience

The Liberated State and Omniscience· The Non-Advaita Vedanta Views:

It has been pointed out more than once that the liberated soul and the soul which has entered the *nirvāṇa*, are not omniscient, although omniscience may be possible in a being who is about to attain final emancipation This is the theory, upon which the Sankhya, the Yoga, the Nyaya, the Vaisesika, the Buddhist and the Advaita monists of the Vedanta school are agreed. But those philosophers of the Vedanta school who do not admit the identity of the *Brahman* and the *Jīva*, hold a different view. According to them, the liberated *Jīva* becomes omniscient, and the grounds for this view of the dulistic Vedantists are obvious. They do not admit the reality of the absolute and the undertermined (*nirguṇa*) *Brahman* The *Brahman*, according to them, is *saguṇa* i.e., determined and endowed with attributes. The absolute monists of the Vedanta school maintain that it is impossible to ascribe omniscience or any qualification to the liberated soul which is merged in the attributeless *Brahman*. Even these monists do not deny that a Soul which is by dint of its self-culture and self-development has succeeded in closely associating itself with the qualified or the *saguṇa Brahman*, attains omniscience. The Vedantins, other than the absolute monists hold that *Brahman* is *saguṇa* or qualified) and that the absolute, unqualified, or the *nirguṇa Brahman* is an unreal abstraction, that the *mukti* or emancipa-

tion of a soul consists in its inseparable association with (and not an absolute merger in) the *Saguṇa Brahman* and that such a liberated soul comes to be possessed of the qualities of the Lord, including omniscience.

It seems to us, however, that the omniscience thus attributed to the liberated soul by the dualistic schools of the Vedanta, is not of the same nature or extent with the omniscience, attributed to the *Iśvara* by the Nyaya, the Vaisesika, the theistic Sankhya, the Yoga and the Vedanta The omniscience of the latter is eternal, unfettered and all-embracing. It is, however, the very nature of the *Jīva* to have but limited range of apprehension and this limited capacity of the *Jīva* is not radically changed, even when it attains liberation. Accordingly, it would probably not be correct to say that all the cosmic things and phenomena of all times and places, beginningless and endless, are ever present in the omniscience of the liberated *Jīva*, as 'now' and 'here', simultaneously Even when a soul associates itself with the Lord, in its emancipated state, its powers are still limited, in comparison with the powers of the latter. A liberated soul, for instance, has no power to interfere in or modify the *jagat-vyapāra*, i.e., the creation of the world,--which is the sole prerogative of the *Iśvara*. It is true that a liberated soul comes to be possessed of many supernatural powers, it can go anywhere it likes,

sarvesu lokesu kāmācāro bhavati
—*Chāndogya-Upaniṣad*, 7 25:2

but from the word, *kāma*, it is manifest that this power of unrestricted movement is dependent upon his 'desire'. Similarly, it is not true that all the things and the phenomena of the world, past, present, future, subtle, near, distant etc. are simultaneously and actually and always present in the consciousness of the emancipated *Jīva*. Its supernatural attainment consists in the fact that unlike a soul in bondage, it can know them, whenever it likes. Let us explain the position by an example. It is not a fact that his ancestors are always present before a liberated being or in his mind Whenever he wants to see them, they appear before him at once.

sa yadā pitṛ-loka-kāmo bhavati samkalpādevāsya pitarah samuttiṣṭhanti

—*Chāndogya-Upaniṣad*, 8.2.1

The omniscience of a liberated soul thus consists in the fact that it has the power to know at once, whatever it wants to know and not that

all the cosmic things and phenomena are ever present in its consciousness. The omniscience of the Lord, however, is not of this sort. His omniscience is eternal; in it are ever present all the objects and occurrences of all times and places. The liberated soul has not this kind of omniscience, this is the view of the Vedantists of the 'Dvaita' or dualistic, the 'Dvaitadvaita' or dualistico-monist and the 'Visistadvaita' or differentiated monistic schools. The Advaita or the absolutely monistic schools of the Vedanta also attribute such an omniscience to the highly developed worshippers of the *saguṇa Brahman* and we believe such an omniscience, —and nothing more than that,—has been said to be attainable in the *samūhālambana* of the Nyaya, the *ārṣa-jñāna* of the Vaisesika, the *prātibha* of the Sankhya and the Yoga and the *yogī-pratyakṣa* of the Buddhist.

The Liberated State and Omniscience: The Jaina View

That the unliberated *Jiva's* wandering in the *samsāra* are not omniscient is a matter of common experience and has been admitted in the Jaina philosophy, just in all other systems. There is a remarkable unanimity between the Jainas who repudiate the authority of the Vedas and the Mimamsakas who are firm supporters of the Vedic orthodoxy and ritualism, regarding the doctrines that the *Jiva's* have been wandering from the beginningless time in the *samsāra*, driven by the forces of their *karmas* and that there is no Creator of this universe. But although the Jainas agree with the Mimamsakas in admitting the inexorableness of the law of *karma* and repudiating the Creatorship or the Governorship of *Isvara*, they do not like to be looked upon as atheists like the latter. In the theistic school of the Vedic philosophy, besides the creation of the world, another function is ascribed to God. The Vedas are the source of *dharma*, i e , the knowledge of duty and God is said to be the author or the revealer of the Vedas. Accordingly, God is the Seer of the *dharma* and the first Teacher. While proving the omnipotence of *Brahman* (*sarvajñatvam sarva-saktitvañceti*), Sankara quotes from the *Sruti*:

asya mahato bhūtasya-nihsvasitametad

—*Rgvedah*

and says that the Vedas and the scriptures have, like breath emerged from the Great Being,—the *Isvara* or the *Brahman*. In describing the infallibility of the Vedas, the author of the *Nyāya-Sūtra* says :

tat-pramānyam-pramāṇyat

—*Nyāya-Sūtram*, 2-1-68

The infallibility of the Vedas is due to the infallibility of the *Āpta*.

Here the word *Āpta* refers to the Veda reciter (*Veda-vaktā*) *Iśvara*, who is *sākṣātkṛta-dharma*, i.e., the direct knower of the *dharma* and a faithful Teacher of what he knows:

yathā-dṛṣtasyarthasya cekhyapayisaya prayukta upadeṣṭā

Kanada also has referred to the teachership of God in the very same manner :

tadvacanādāmnāyasya

—*Vaiśeṣika-Sūtram*, 1-1-3

Āmnāya or the Vedas are words of God. Their infallibility arises from the infallibility of God.

With reference of the teachership of God, the author of the *Yoga-Sūtra* has said:

sa pūrvesāmapi guruh kālenanavacchedāt

—*Yoga-Sūtram*, *Samadhi-pādah*, 26

That beginningless Being is the teacher, even of the early teachers (e.g. *Brahmā*).

Although the Jainas do not admit *Iśvara*, who is the world-creator, they do admit a perfect human Being who is the best of teachers. This perfect Being is called the Tirthamakara and the Jaina's call him *Iśvara*, i.e., God. The teachings of the Tirthamkara are not of course the *Ṛk*, the *Yajur*, the *Sāma* or *Atharva* (which are repudiated by the Jainas) but are certainly the best authorities on matters, philosophical, ethical and religious. The Jainas call the teachings of the Tirthamkara God, the Jaina Veda and according to them, it is the Jaina Veda which alone embodies the true teachings or the true God and as such, is the real, infallible Veda. In this way, the Jainas show that they are not opposed to the doctrine of the Veda-reciter, omniscient God, With all these, however, it is obvious that there is essential difference between the *Iśvara* of the Jainas and the *Iśvara* of the Vedic school. The God of the Jainas is not the creator of the world, he was originally a mortal human being, who through self-culture and self development attained God-hood, consisting in teachership The Tirthamkara Gods are also more than one

in number. The God of the Vedic school, on the contrary, is the world-creator and from "eternity to eternity" is the one ever-free Lord, revealing the Vedas in the early dawn of the cosmic creation.

The Tirthamkara, otherwise called the 'Arhat' is then the *Iśvara* according to the Jainas who is the author of the Vedas (of course the Jaina scriptures). By admitting in this way the doctrine of the authorship and of the teachership of the Vedas, the Jainas distinguish their view from that the Mimamsakas, according to which, the Vedas are uncreate and self-existent. Regarding the question of the *mukti* or final emancipation also, the Jaina and the Mimamsa views are different. According to the Mimamsakas a good, well-behaved and dutiful man on his death goes to heavens and enjoys the best happiness. *Mukti* or complete liberation, however, is inattainable. According to the Mimamsaka thinker the *samsāra* or the existential series is not only beginningless but endless also. The Jainas, on the contrary, maintain that save and except the *abhavya Jīvas* (who can never attain the complete emancipation), all souls are capable of attaining liberation. A soul, when liberated, is possessed of *kevala-jñāna*, which is nothing other than omniscience.

Besides the disembodied perfect Beings who are completely free and are omniscient, according to the Jainas, as stated above, a highly developed Being, while in body, may attain omniscience also. The Tirthamkaras were such beings who attained omniscience, while they lived, moved and had their being still in this world. This Jaina doctrine of omniscience in a Being who is not yet disembodied, is obviously akin to the theories of the other Indian schools, according to which omniscience is possible before final liberation.

A liberated Soul is omniscient according to the Jainas. On this point and, it seems to us, on the question of the nature of omniscience in souls which have attained it, the Jainas differ from the other Indian schools. In most of the philosophical systems of India, other than the Jaina, omniscience has not been attributed to a liberated soul. It is true that in the Vedantic system except that of the Advaita school, omniscience has been attributed to a liberated soul. But as we have already pointed out, omniscience in such a soul seems to be of a limited type. In the Yoga and other systems also, omniscience has been attributed to souls about to attain the final liberation. But in the case of these souls also, ominiscience seems to be limited. The omniscience attributed to the liberated souls by the Jainas, on the contrary, is perfect, unrestricted and unlimited. It seems to us that the omniscience, attributed to the liberated souls by the Jainas resembles that attributed to the *Iśvara* by the Vedic theistic schools.

According to the Jainas the *Jīvas* are omniscient, by nature. Just as pure and clear water becomes muddy on being mixed with clay, in the same manner, the naturally omniscient *Jīvas* wander in the *samsāra* in an inomniscient state of knowledge, being polluted by the dirt of *karma*. As soon as the clay is removed water resumes its clearness and purity; in the same way, the *Jīvas* also resume their pure state of omniscience, when they succeed in removing the *karma*-impurities from them by dint of self-culture and self-development. The liberation of a *Jīva* means its liberation from the influence of *karma* In the liberated state of a soul, all *karma*-forces covering pure knowledge and omniscience are absolutely set aside. Accordingly, *mokṣa* or liberation has been described as

samastavaraṇa-kṣayapekṣam
—*Pramāṇa-naya-tattvālokālamkāra*, 2, 23

i.e., dependent on a complete annihilation of all (the *karmas*) that cover (knowledge); *kevala-jñāna* arises in the soul automatically as soon as these obstacles of *karma*-coverings are removed from it. *Kevala-jñāna* is *omniscience* and as conceived by the Jainas, it is not at all limited in any way

nikhila-dravya-paryāya-sākṣātkārī-svarūpam kevala-jñānam
— *Pramāṇa-naya-tattvālokālamkāra* 2-23

Omniscience consists in a direct apprehension of all the things with all their modes.

In a liberated soul are directly revealed and clearly known all the things of the universe, past, present, and future with all their infinite qualities, modes and aspects Omniscience, as conceived by the Jainas, is thus unlimited, infinite, unrestricted and all-embracing It seems to us, that such an omniscience might have been attributed to *Iśvara* by some of the theistic systems of India, but none of them appear to have thought it possible in a soul, either as emancipated or as approaching emancipation

Evolution of Jaina Sangha

J. C. SIKDAR.

I

Jaina Sangha has undergone gradual, orderly changes with the march of time since its beginning as a result of historical process. It has descended from simpler organisation[1] by gradual modifications which have accumulated in successive ages.[2] The process of evolution of Jaina Sangha has not ceased, but is occurring more rapidly to-day than in many of the past ages. In the last few hundred years many Jaina Sanghas, ganas, gacchas, etc. have become extinct and others have arisen.[3] Although the process is usually too gradual to be observed, there are notable examples of evolutionary changes with the time of recorded history, for example, in early millennium B.C. Jaina monastic order of some sort was founded by the Tirthankara, Rsabhadeva, in Ayodhya, as the leader of Vatarasana Munis[4] in a nascent form. This Sangha expanded and its members multiplied with amazing speed during the age of Mahavira[5] who put Jaina religion on metaphysical foundation with ethical and logical principles and by the tewentieth century its branches are strikingly

[1] Since the inception of simple Nirgrantha sect consisting of Vatarasana Munis in the time of Rsabhadeva in the Rg vedic period this monastic organization appeared to be a little developed during the period of Parsvanatha and Parsvapatyas as shown by the Agamic historical evidences.

[2] In the life-time of Mahavira the Jaina monastic organization developed more and more by absorbing the Parsvapatyas, and heterodox sects into its fold having ganas and ganadharas, etc In the post-Mahavira period it branched off into many sakhas, kulas, etc as issued from different Acaryas. In the Acarya period different schools—sangha, gana, gaccha, etc. with all the paraphernalia of the monastic orders cropped up and became more complex in successive ages.

[3] Most of the eighty-four gacchas of Jaina Sangha are now extinct, whereas Kharataragaccha, Tapagaccha, Lonkagaccha, Sthanakavasi, Terapanthi, etc. have emerged in the course of the evolution of Jaina Sangha.

[4] See *RV*. 10, 136, 2-4. Vatarasana Munis were called Nirgranthas in later period. See *Nyayamanjari*, Kashi Edition, p. 247; *Nyayamanjarigranthibhanga*, p. 115

[5] The total number of the actual members of the Caturvidha Sangha of Mahavira as available in the *Agamas* was 1417, not the stereotyped number as recorded in the *Kalpasutra*

different from the original North Indian Jaina Sangha.[6] They have a different characteristic due to many divisions and sub-divisions—Svetambara[7] and Digambara,[8] Upakesagaccha,[9] Nirgranthagaccha,[10] Kautikagaccha,[11] Candragaccha,[12] Vanavasigaccha,[13] Vatagaccha[14] and Tapagaccha,[15] Kharataragaccha,[16] etc., 84 gacchas,[17] upto Sthanakvasins[18] and Terapanthins,[19], etc. of the Svetambara group; Mulasangha,[20] Devagana,[21] Senagana,[22] Nandigana,[23] etc., Kasthasangha,[24] etc. upto Taranapanthins,[25] Terapanthins,[26] Gumanapanthins,[27] Bisapanthins[28] and Tolapanthins[29] etc. Besides they are more conservative and caste-ridden today, whereas Mahavira was too liberal even to admit a Candala named

[6] Sthanakvasi and Terapanthi sects, etc are strikingly, different from the original North Indian orthodox Jaina Sangha of Mahavira in some respects, although they profess and follow his path of religion.

[7] See *Pattavali Samuccaya* II, *Puravani*, pp. 220-21; *Jain Silalekh Sangraha*, pp 220-21, Pt II, *pp.* 69-70, for *svetapata mahasramanasangha* representing the Svetambaras

[8] See *Jain Silalekh Sangraha*, Pt II, pp 69-70, for *nirgranth mahasramanasangha* representing the Digambaras.

[9] *Pattavali Samuccaya*, Pt I, pp 185-88

[10] *Tapagaccha Pattavali*, p 45 and *Jain Gurjar Kavio*, Pt II, p 704

[11] *Pattavali Samuccava*, Pt I, p 45, *Jain Gujar Kavio*, Pt II, p 704

[12] *Pattavali Samuccaya*, Pt. I, p 48, *Pattavali Saroddhara*, p 15.

[13] *Pattavali Samuccava*, Pt I, p. 48, *Pattavali Saroddhara*, p 15

[14] *Pattavali Samuccaya*, Pt I, p. 53, *Pattavali saroddhara*, p 152

[15] *Pattavali Samuccava*, Pt I, p 57 (*Tapagaccha Pattavali*), *Pattavali Saroddhara*, p 154.

[16] *Kharataragaccha Pattavali*, Pt I, II, and III.

[17] *Pattavali Samuccava, Pt.* II, *Purvavani*, pp 220 (p 37. *Kadi* 2)

[18] *Sthanakvasi Pattavali*

[19] Acarya Bhikhamji is the founder of this sect on the question of *daya-dana* and conduct of monks, *Jain Sraman Sanghka Itihas*, p. 108

[20] *Jain Silalekh Sangraha*, II, Nos. 55, 90, 94, *Jain Silalekh Sangraha*, III, p 24; *Indian Antiquary*, XX, p 341, etc.

[21] *Jain Silalekh Sangraha*, Pt II, No. 112, pp. 102-3 etc

[22] *Uttara Purana, Lekha* 8, *J.S.S.*, IV, No 55

[23] *Jain Silalekh Sangraha*, Pt. I. No 42, p. 34, No 43, p 43, No 47, p 58, No 50, p. 71.

[24] *See Jain Silalekh Sangraha*, Pt III, p. 66 See also *Darsanasara*, p 14, *J.S.S* pt. III, p 57a

[25] It was founded by Tarana Svami in the 15th century A D on the basis of anti-image cult like Lonka-*mata*; see *Jainism in Rajasthan* by Dr. K. C. Jain, p. 92

[26] It was founded in Rajasthan by Amarchand Badjatya, a resident of Sanganir in the 17th century A.D. on the basis of 13 items of idol worship of the Tirthankaras; see *Jainism in Rajasthan*.

[27] *Jainism in Rajasthan*

[28] *Ibid.*

[29] *Ibid*

Harikesi to his Sangha as his monk disciple by removing the caste bar against the downtrodden people of the then society of his time.

It is more important to note that the Southern Indian Jaina monks[30] could not produce or found new branches of Jaina Sanghas when united with the members of Northern and Western Indian Jaina Sanghas,[31] as they were too conservative in their behaviour. Within a few hundred years, thus new Sanghas of Jaina monks had developed due to probably the factors—geographical and local environs and variations, conservativeness, new ideas and thoughts on ethical conducts, codes of asceticism, etc.

The idea that the present forms of Jaina Sangha[32] or Sanghas arose from earlier, simpler one is unique in the evolutionary process of the history of Jaina Sangha with the development of man and the society of India. "Nature strives to change from the simple and imperfect to more complex and perfect."[33]

Variation[34] is characteristic of every group of Jaina Sangha, gana, gaccha, etc. Jaina monastic order may differ in many ways. More monastic orders of Jaina Sangha of each kind were born than could possibly survive in the historical process.[35] Yet since the number of each group remained fairly constant under natural conditions, it may be assumed that most of the Sanghas in each ages perished.[36] If all the members of any group of

[30] It is said in the Jaina literary tradition that when the Southern Jaina monks, a section of the followers of Bhadrabahu II, returned to Magadha after a long period of their stay in the south, they could not make any impact on the local monks of Magadha who adapted to clothing.

[31] Although the tenet of Jaina religion is one but the language, social environments, etc are the factors which did not help the South Indian Jaina monks to unite with their northern brethren

[32] The form of Jaina Sangha under the spiritual leadership of Mahavira was simple. But to-day the forms of all Jaina Sanghas have completely changed with all sorts of paraphernalia of monstic rules and regulations, customs, etc. Look into the forms of the Mandirmargi Sangha of the Svetambaras and that of Terapanthi Sangha of the Digambaras

[33] *Biology*, C. A Villee, p. 513.

[34] After Mahavira's demise Jaina Sangha developed and continued for some time in a straight line, but later on different branches cropped with variations in the process of their development into ganas, kulas, sakhas, etc.

[35] Eighty four gacchas of the Svetambaras are mentioned in the *Pattavalis*, a few of them has survived, while others died out.

[36] Old Jaina Sanghas in the post-Mahavira period and Acarya period are no more existing, e g. Tamraliptika sakha, Kotivarsika sakha, Nirgrantha gaccha, Kotika gaccha, etc have perished in course of time of their development.

Jaina Sangha would have remained alive and multiplied, they would soon have crowded all other Sanghas from India. Such was the case of Jaina Sanghas in the ages of post-Mahavira[37] and later Jainacaryas.[38] Of the many variations exhibited by different Jaina Sanghas, some have made it easier for them to survive in the struggle for existence, while others have caused them to be eliminated. The surviving Jaina Sanghas gave rise to the next generations[39] of Jaina monastic orders by transmitting successful variations of ethical principles and conducts, etc. to them.[40] Successive generations in this way tended to become adapted to their social environment,[41] as the social environment changed, further adaptations followed as evidenced particularly in the case of both the Svetambara and Digambara schools in Western India[42] and South India[43] respectively.

As the process of social, economic, political and religious evolutions continued to operate over many years in India, the later Jaina Sanghas might be quite different from their parent Sanghas, e.g. different ganas and gacchas of the Svetamabara and Digambara Sanghas appear to be quite different from their parent Sanghas.[44] Further more, certain branches of a Jaina Sangha with one group of monks having variations

[37] See *Kalpasutra Sthaviravali*, *Nandisutra Pattavali* and early Mathura Inscriptions for this purpose

[38] See *Pattavalis* of the Svetambaras and *Jain Silalekh Sangraha* Vol. I-IV, for the disappearance of many Jaina Sanghas.

[39] E g., there issued eighty-four gacchas from Vatagaccha but many of them died out. Tapagaccha was born out of Vatagaccha under the spiritual leadership of Jagaccandra Suri in 1229 at Citor. It gave rise to thirteen branches. (See *Tapagaccha Pattavali*, also vide *Pattavali Samuccaya*, Pt I, p 57 ff, *Balabodha Pattavali*, p 9 ff.

[40] *Ibid.*

[41] As the social environment changed, Tapagaccha gave rise to Lonka-*mata* under the leadership of Lonkashah on the basis of non-worship of the images of Tirthankaras. This new generation adapted itself to the social environment and made a great impact on the Svetambara Jaina society for some time

[42] For example, Lonka-*mata* or Lonkagaccha having anti-image cult emerged from Tapagaccha, Sthanakvasi sect arose from Lonkagaccha and Terapanthi from Sthanakvasis in Western India because of changed social environment. Even now they are flourishing well with their missions there.

[43] In South India some ganas like Devagana, Senagana, Nandigana, etc., issued from Mulasangha according to the social environment prevailing there in the course of the Jaina missions.

[44] As for example, Lonkagaccha is different from Tapagaccha in regard to the image-cult, Sthanakvasi is different from Lonkagaccha, Terapanthi is different from Sthanakvasi sect in regard to the religious conducts of their respective Sanghas which are different from each other. Similarly, there was difference of religious conduct among Devagana, Senagana, Nandigana, etc in the matter of the observance of ascetic life which was different from that of the parent body —Mulasangha

of monastic rules and ascetic life might become adapted to socio-religious environmental changes in one way,[45] while other members became adapted in a different way[46] so that two or more Sanghas, or ganas or gacchas might arise from a single original Sangha,[47] e.g. there issued many branches or sub-gacchas from Kharataragaccha[48] and Tapagaccha[49] of the Svetambara Jainas, and from Mulasangha,[50] etc. of the Digambaras. There must be the geographical isolation[51] to prevent commingling of Jaina Sanghas or ganas, gacchas, etc. to some extent. Really speaking, the evolution of Jaina Sangha took place by two processes mainly, viz. modifications of monastic rules and mutation of ascetic life and conduct in one or other.[52] Variations of monastic rules and ascetic life resulting from some action of socio-religious environment on the developing embryonical Sangha called modifications are not inheritable and are not significated for evolution of Jaina Sangha, but variations arising from changes in the Jaina monastic order called mutations are raw materials for the evolution of Jaina Sangha.[53]

The evolution of Jaina Sangha took a new turn due to geographical isolation whereby groups of related Jaina Sanghas got separated in the process of history, e.g., Digambara and Svetambara Sanghas or Northern and Southern Jaina Sanghas got separated by some physical barriers, such as, mountain, river, desert, etc.[54] But this geographical isolation

[45] As for instance, the sub-divisions of Tapagaccha, such as, Vrddhaposalika Tapagaccha founded by Vijayacandra Suri, the pupil of Jagaccandra Suri, Laghu-Posalika-Tapagaccha founded by Devendra Suri, etc. have become adapted to socio-religious changes in one way. See *Tapagaccha Pattavali*

[46] As for instance the eleven branches of Kharataragaccha, viz. Madhakara Kharatara gaccha, Rudrapalliya gaccha, Laghukharatara gaccha, Vegada Sakha and others, adapted socio-religious environmental changes in a different way. See *Kharataragaccha Pattavali*

[47] There issued 13 sub-gacchas from Tapagaccha and 11 sub-gacchas from Kharataragaccha See *Tapagaccha Pattavali* and *Kharataragaccha Pattavali* for this purpose

[48] See *Kharataragaccha Pattavali*

[49] See *Tapagaccha Pattavali*

[50] E.g, Mulasangha gave rise to Devagana, Senagana, etc. See *Jain Silalekh Sangraha*, Pt. III, p 25

[51] The local origin of some Jaina Sanghas with peculiar social environment of the place sometimes prevented them to mix up with other Jaina Sanghas outside their arena

[52] Modifications of monastic rules and change in ascetic life and conduct sometimes took place in Jaina Sanghas as historical necessity

[53] There cannot take place any evolution in any institution without variation.

[54] The Missions of the Jaina Sangha or Sanghas spread gradually to the four quarters of India from the begining of the birth of Jaina-*dharma* upto the present day in different ages as evidenced from the literary and archaeological records.

was usually not permanent in the evolution of Jaina Sangha, as the missions of Jaina Sanghas expanded to the four quarters of India with a missionary spirit to propagate the gospels of Jaina-*dharma* to the people of India in different ages,[55] hence two previously isolated Jaina Sanghas or ganas or gacchas even if they continued at some particular regions at some particular periods of history, came into contact again and inter-produced a new Sangha or gaccha.[56]

The various ganas and gacchas are the result of some kind of isolation and the accumulation of chance mutations of ascetic life of the Jaina monks.[57] But since the inter-Sangha unproductivity had not developed, the differences disappeared when geographic isolation broke down between the two Sanghas.[58] That they did not disappear, even more quickly and completely, was due largely to socio-religious taboos against inter-mingling being itself a form of isolation, e.g., the difference between the Svetambara and Digambara Sanghas or between two gacchas—Tapa-gaccha and Kharataragaccha due to the socio-religious taboos against intermingling gave rise to a form of isolation. It must be emphasized that a kind of natural selection operated upon the organization of Jaina Sangha as a whole rather than an individual trait

One organization might have survived despite obviously disadvantageous character, while another might have been eliminated despite traits extremely advantageous for getting along in continuance [59] Jaina Sanghas that won the struggle for existence were usually not perfectly adapted to their environment, but had qualities the sum total of which rendered them a little better able to survive and reproduce new branches than their competitor Sanghas

Preadaptations of Jaina Sanghas .

Because mutations (i.e. changes) in monastic life and conduct occurred at random, some resulted in characteristics either important or

[55] See 'The Missions of Jaina Sangha', *Jain Journal*, July, 1975 and January 1976.

[56] There appears to be the union of Punnata gaccha and Lata Vargata gaccha on the basis of the evidence of L. 63 of *Pattavali*, Citrasena, vide *Bhattaraka Sampradaya*, p. 252 This union produced a new Lalabagada-Punnata gaccha

[57] E.g , Svetambara and Digambara Sanghas or Tapagaccha and Kharataragaccha arose due to some kind of isolation and accumulation of chance mutations of ascetic life

[58] Most of the 84 gacchas died out perhaps in the struggle for existence

[59] E.g., Tapagaccha had the qualities the sum total of which rendered it a little better able to survive and reproduce new branches than its competitors—Kharatara-gaccha and others.

disadvantageous to the Jaina monastic organization in its usual environment.[60] If, however, the social, political, economic and religious environment changed or the Sangha migrated or made *vihārayātrā* (pilgrimage) to a new location, then the same monastic traits might be of marked value for its survival.[61] Preadaptation of Jaina Sanghas reasonably explains such occurrences as the evolution of the wandering Jaina Sanghas, while internal changes of the Jaina monastic order are the raw materials of its evolution in its constitutional process. The evolution of new Jaina Sanghas thus involved both change and natural selection in their monastic life and conduct. New Jaina Sanghas evolved by the gradual accumulation of small changes in the monastic life and conduct arose in one step by a major change in the monastic organization as new gacchas or ganas or Sanghas.[62]

Evolution of some Jaina Sanghas tended to progress in a straight line with side branches, e.g., evolution of Nirgranthagaccha up to Tapagaccha took place in a straight line.[63] Another type of evolution of Jaina Sangha occurred through simple monastic union or crossing of two different gacchs.[64] Through such a union the best characters of each of the original ganas or gacchas were combined into a simple form thereby creating a new type of ganas or gacchas better able to survive than either of its parent-bodies in the new conditions.[65]

Thus the theories of change, natural selection and population of monks provide one with a satisfactory explanation about the present-day Jaina gacchas or ganas evolved from the previous forms of Sanghas or gacchas or ganas by descent with modification in the process of history.

[60] As for instance, changes in the monastic order of Tapagaccha and Kharataragaccha took place. The changes in Tapagaccha to Mandir marga and other things were important to it, while the changes in Kharataragaccha to occultism or Tantricism was disadvantageous to it, so it has declined a little.

[61] Tapagaccha has originated in Rajasthan (Citor) and has migrated to Gujarat or made *viharayatra* and has survived with its monastic traits even to-day.

[62] E.g., Lunka sect issued from Tapagaccha due to some change in monastic life and conduct. It rejected as apocryphal a certain number of the sacred texts, prohibited the image-cult and did not build temples and take part in pilgrimage. Similarly, Sthanakvasi sect was born of Lunka sect and Terapanthi sect from Sthanakvasi sect due to certain changes and natural selection in the monastic life.

[63] Nirgranthagaccha, Kotikagaccha, Candragaccha, Vanavasigaccha, Vatagaccha and Tapagaccha evolved in a straight line.

[64] E.g , Ladabagada-Punnatagaccha, *Lekhanka* 531, Citrasen. See *Bhattaraka Sampradaya*, p. 252

[65] *Ibid.*

Principles of Evolution of Jaina Sanghas :

As already pointed out, changes in the organization of Jaina Sangha are the raw materials of its evolution. Besides, some sort of isolation of monastic order was necessary for the setting up of new ganas or gacchas and natural selection was involved in the survival of some Sanghas, ganas and gacchas, etc. but not all of the changes which occur in the monastic order. In addition, the following principles of evolution of Jaina Sangha may be subscribed.

(1) Evolution of Jaina Sangha had occurred more rapidly at some particular periods of time than at others.[66] In this period it occurred rapidly with many new forms appearing and many old ones becoming extinct, e.g. different ganas, kulas, and sakhas as recorded in the *Kalpa-sūtra Sthavirāvalī* and early Mathura Inscriptions[67] have become extinct. In the medieval period the same process operated as it is found that most of the eightyfour gacchas mentioned in the *Pattāvalis*[68] have died out, while Tapagaccha, Kharataragaccha, Sthanakvasin and Terapanthi sects, etc., after their rise, are flourishing at the present time.

(2) Evolution of Jaina Sanghas did not proceed at the same rate among different types of its monastic orders. For example, at one extreme are Nirgranthagaccha, Kotikagaccha and Tapagaccha,[69] some branches of which have been exactly the same for the last few hundred years at least without progress, as the literary and archaeological evidences show this fact clearly. In contrast several Jaina sangahs, ganas and gacchas had appeared and become extinct in the past few hundred years, e.g., many of the eightyfour gacchas and other sub-branches mentioned in the Jain literary records have become extinct.[70] In general the evolution of Jaina Sangha occurred rapidly when a gana or gaccha first appeared, and then gradually slowed down as the order became established, e.g., the development of Kharataragaccha, Tapagaccha, Lunkagaccha, Sthanakvasi and Terapanthi[71] sects have slowed down after their first appearance.

[66] E.g., evolution of Jaina Sanghas took more rapidly in the post-Mahavira period. See *Kalpasutra Sthaviravali* and *Nandisutra Pattavali*, etc

[67] *Kalpasutra Sthaviravali* and Early Mathura Inscriptions

[68] *Pattavali Samuccaya*, Pt III pp. 220-21.

[69] See *Pattavali Samuccaya*, Pt I, (*Tapagaccha Pattavali*), pp. 45 ff and *Jain Gurjar Kavio*, Pt. II, pp. 704 ff.

[70] Most of the eighty four gacchas and some sub-branches of Tapagaccha and Kharatara gaccha have become extinct. See *Tapagaccha and Kharataragaccha Pattavali*.

[71] When there took place the birth of these sects, there was at first a rapid growth in their progress but it slowed down with their gradual development and settlement.

(3) New Jaina Sanghas or ganas or gacchas did not evolve from the most advanced and specialized forms already flourishing, but from relatively simple, unspecialized forms. Thus they did not evolve from the large specialized Sangha, but from a group of rather small and unspecialized Sangha, e.g. there issued the gacchas like Kotika, etc. from the simple Nirgranthagaccha[72] in the Acarya period.

(4) Evolution of Jaina Sangha was not always from the simple to the complex form. There had been many examples of regressive evolution of Jaina Sangha in which a complex form had given rise to simple ones also, e.g., simple Lonkagaccha with the idea of anti-image cult arose out of the large Tapagaccha—a complex form of Sangha with all its paraphernalia of image-worship, etc. Most of these simple sects had evolved from the parent-Sangha like Tapagaccha which was more complex than its offshoots like Lunka-*mata* and grand-offshoots—Sthanakvasi and Terapanthi sects. The present Jaina Sanghas—Svetambara and Digambara have descended from the Sangha or Sanghas that could evolve by modification and change in the monastic life and conduct. It shows that changes occurred at random, and not successively from the simple to the complex or from the imperfect to the perfect. If there was advantage to a Jaina Sangha in having a simpler organizational structure or in doing without some monastic structure altogether, any changes in the monastic order which happeneded to occur for such condtions would tend to accumulate by natural selection of the Sangha.

Evolution of Jaina Sangha occurred due to the adherents or population of laities, not because of individuals (monks) and by the process of change, natural selection and internal monastic general drift.

Evidences for Evolution of Jaina Sangha :

The literary and archaeological records provide direct evidences of evolution of Jaina Sangha and give the details of the evolutionary relationships of many branches of monastic orders descended from some parent-Sanghas. There are, moreover, a great many facts from all of the sub-divisions of social science which acquire significance and make sense only when viewed against the background of evolution in order to judge the evolution of Jaina Sangha. From some records of Jaina literature and archaeology something can be told about its constitution and structures,[73] etc.

[72] See *Pattavali Samuccaya*, Pt. I.

[73] Records of Jaina literature and archaeology throw sufficient light upon the constitution of Jaina Sangha, its structures, development and evolution and its monastic jurisprudence up to the present day.

First Era of Jaina Sangha :

The oldest era of early Jaina Sangha did not begin with the origin of Jaina-*dharma* at the time of Rsabhadeva, but with the formation of the crust of the Vatarasana Munis[74] although the Jaina tradition gives an account of his Sangha in the *Kalpasūtra* in its own mythological manner.[75] This era lasted about some thousands of years, if the historicity of Rsabhadeva is accepted, till the age of Parasvanatha, a historical personage. Apparently it was marked by widespread dynamic activity and deep-seated social upheavals which later on climaxed in the raising of social, economic, political and religious super-structures during the time of Mahavira and his successors[76] in the known historical periods

Second Era

The second era, more than 250 years in length, which began with Parsvanatha, was characterized by the assembly of large numbers of Parsvapatya monks of the Nirgrantha tradition, as it is evidenced in both the Jaina[77] and Buddhist texts.[78] The evidences show that the evolution of Jaina Sangha had proceeded quite far before the end of the era upto the time of Mahavira when the unification or rather the merging of the assembly of 500 Parsvapatya monks under Kesi with that of Mahavira took place as a result of clarification and mutual understanding of different religious question like *cāturyāma dharma* of Parsvantha and *pañca mahāvratas* of Mahavira, *sāmāyika dharma*, *sacelakatva*, *acelakatva*. etc.[79] in their ascetic life. Besides, many other—Parsvapatyas and monks belonging to other sects joined the Sanghas of Mahavira.[80]

Third Era ·

This era began with Mahavira who introduced some reforms in the ethical principles and conduct of Nirgrantha-*dharma* and placed it on

[74] See *Rg Veda*, 10 136, 2-3, *Nyayamanjari*, Jayanta Bhatta, Kashi Edition, p. 247; *Nyayamanjari granthibhangah*, edited by Dr. Naginbhai Shah, p. 14

[75] See *Kalpasutra* for the life-account of Rsabhadeva

[76] See all the *Angas* and *Upangas* and other canonical works including *Kalpasutra*, etc for the life of Mahavira and his successors

[77] *Bhagavati Sutra*, 1.9 76, 5.9.226, 9 32 371, 9 32 378; 9 32. 379, 2. 5. 110; *Sutrakrtanga*, 2 7. 68, 71, 72, 81; *Uttaradhyayana Sutra*, 23 32

[78] *Dighanikaya*, Pt I, *Samanna phalasutta*, refers to the Nirgantha sect which was flourishing before the rise of Buddhism.

[79] *Uttaradhyayana Sutra* 23

[80] *Bhagavati Sutra*, 1. 9. 76, 5 9. 226, 2 5 110, etc. *Sutrakrtanga*, 71. 7. 68, 69, 71, 72, 81

metaphysical foundation.[81] Between the strata of the late second era and the earliest layer of the third era there was a considerable gap of 259 years,[82] caused by a monastic evolution. During the era of Mahavira there appeared the members of gana and a class of pontiffs called Ganadharas[83] except the Acaryas, Suris, Bhattarakas, etc. of later periods.

Post-Mahavira Period—1st Phase :

The earliest sub-division of the post-Tirthankara era of Mahavira is represented by the Ganadhara[84] Sudharma, endowed with richness in professional intellectual thoughts, so the reconstruction of what the *Āgama* was like in those days was probably quite accurate, as is evidenced that Ganadhara Sudharma Svami transmitted the entire *Āgamas* through his mouth to his disciple Jambu Svami.[85] The Jaina Sanghas living in the post-Mahavira period were varied and complex that they must have evolved from the tradition of parent-*tīrtha* dating back to the earliest era.[86] All the present-day Jaina Sanghas, ganas, gacchas, etc., which carry on the Jaina cultural heritage of the past, have links with their parent Sanghas in these days.[87]

Evolution of Jaina Sangha since the first phase of post-Mahavira period has not been marked by the establishment of entirely new structure but by the division or ramification of lines already present and by the replacement of original primitive form of Sangha, with better adapted ones.[88] The fact that no new *tīrthas* have originated since the early post-Mahavria era does not necessarily mean that no other patterns of Sangha-organization were possible or that mutations for new patterns of Jaina Sangha did not occur. It probably indicated only that by that time the existing forms of Jaina Sangha had reached a degree of adaptation to the social environment which gave them a marked advantage over any new unadapted type

[81] *Bhagavati, Sutrakrtanga, Uttaradhyayana Sutra*, etc

[82] *Kalpasutra*, 6 148

[83] See *Kalpasutra Sthaviravali*, pp. 247-8, *Avasyaka Niryukti* 268

[84] *Kalpasutra, Ksana* 8.

[85] See the *Agamas*, Introduction.

[86] There issued some branches from the line of the *tirtha* of Mahavira after Sambhutivijaya and Bhadrabahu, the two disciples of Yasobhadra in the post-Mahavira period. See *Kalpasutra, Ksana* 8.

[87] Every Jaina gana or gaccha to-day claims that it had issued from some Sangha which had direct link with the parent-*tirtha* of Mahavira

[88] Many ramifications of the main line of Jaina Sangha issued after Sambhutivijaya and Bhadrabahu because of different leaderships. See *Kalpasutra, Ksana*, 8.

Post-Mahavira Period—2nd Phase :

During the first phase of post-Mahavira period the Indian sub-continent, particularly Northern and Eastern India, gradually had begun to be covered with the spiritual message of Jaina-*dharma* and in the second phase of post-Mahavira period, i.e., from the period of Bhadrabahu the disciple of Yasobhadra and Sthulabhadra,[89] the disciple of Sambhuti-vijaya this sphere of spiritual influence of Jaina-*dharma* reached its maximum so that much of what is now Jaina monkdom was covered by other religions—Brahmanism and Buddhism, etc. and culminated in the further evolution of Jaina Sangha in the Acarya period with space and time extension.

Acarya Period—First Phase (*Circa A.D. 1st-7th*) :

Two events of great religious importance occurred in the Acarya period, viz.(1) Jaina Sangha evolved further and (2) the Svetambaras and the Digambaras appeared as two main Jaina sects of this Jaina Sangha.[90] During this period of evolutionary change the original Sangha evolved into a great variety of ganas, gacchas, kulas, sakhas, etc [91] and the period is frequently referred to as the age of gana, gaccha, etc.[92] The first two to evolve from the old Jaina Sangha with new names were Nirgrantha Sangha or gaccha[93] on the Svetambara side and Mulasangha[94] on the Digambara side respectively. The Svetambara and Digambara *guru paramparā* periods are frequently grouped together as Jainacarya period, for during this period there fluorished great professional intellectuals like Acarya Kundakunda, Acarya Umasvati, Acarya Devarddhi Gani, etc. whose intellectual activities gave rise to the major intellectual achievements of Jaina Sangha as a whole.[95]

[89] *Kalpasutra, Ksana* 8, pp 251-56 ff , *Nandisutra, Pattavali* p. 48 ff.

[90] According to the Digambara tradition, the birth of the Digambara sect was an accomphished fact in 79 A D. (i e after, VS 136), while according to the Svetambara tradition, it took place after 609 years of Vira Nirvana. There must have been a long preparatory stage for this division of Jaina Sangha in the process of its evolution, after 600 or 609 years of Vira Nirvana. See *Darsanasara, Gatha* 11 for the Digambara views, and *Sthananga*, 7,V, *Avasyak Niryukti* and *Tapagaccha-pattavali, Avasyak curni*, p. 428.

[91] See *Early Mathura Inscriptions*; *Kalpasutra Sthaviravali, Nandisutra Pattavali.*

[92] See *Pattavali Samuccaya*, Pt. I.

[93] See *Pattavali Samuccaya*, Pt. I, p. 45 *Jain Silalekh Sangraha*, Pt. II, pp. 69-70.

[94] *Jain Silalekh Sangraha*, Pt. II, *Inscr. No.* 90, p. 56.; *Inscr. No.* 94, p. 61.

[95] As for instance, Acarya Kundakunda and Acarya Umasvati and Devarddhi Gani and others.

Acarya period—Second Phase (Circa A.D. 7th-11th) :

This period is characterized by great changes in the topography of the Jaina mission-territory with the change of the socio-political conditions of India.

The position of the Jaina-mission territory rose all over India except, of course, in North-West-Frontier province, Kashmir and Assam, due to geographical and social factors, so that the scattered Jaina sects[96] which once covered the region extending from North India to South India and from West India to East India upto Bengal, at the beginning of the period, declined,[97] leaving the Jaina mission-territory—particularly regions in which Jaina-*dharma* flourished to-day.

Acrya Period—Third Phase (Circa A.D. 11th-15th) :

At this period a general unfolding of Jaina Sangha occurred, called monastic revolution, which raised great temples, institutions, etc.[98] with a vigorous support for the image-cult of the Tirthankaras in all parts of the Jaina mission-territory.

Modern Era of Jaina Sangha :

Modern era of Jaina Sangha which began at about 15th century A.D. with the advent of the Europeans to India and the rise of Lunka-*mata* can be sub-divided into three periods. During the first two (*circa* A.D. 15th-17th and 17th-19th) most parts of the Jaina mission-territory were spiritiually above the submerged social condition. During the third period (*circa* A.D. 19th-20th) the field of Jaina *dharma* expanded into the remotest interior parts of present India like those of Assam, Bengal, Bihar, Orissa and South India in particuar as a result of the settlement

[96] The Gupta Inscription reveals that some Jaina sect flourished in North India (U.P) even up to the 5th century A.D See Kahaum Stone Pillar Inscription of Skanda Gupta, 460 A D

[97] The position of the Jaina sects which flourished throughout India since the first century A.D onwards began to decline in the seventh century A.D., particularly in North India, due to socio-religious and political conditions when the flag of Islam was planted by the Arabs on the soils of Sindh The advent of Islam, the influence of Buddhism and the reassertion of Brahmanism and also political turmoils in the country led to the contraction of the Jaina missions to the regions where they are flourishing to day

[98] As for instance, Dilwara temple was built by Vimal Shah in the eleventh century. Besides the flowers of Jaina temples with beautiful designs of art and architecture, etc. blossomed forth with the image cult in all parts of the Jaina mission-territory in this third phase of Acarya period

of different groups of Jaina merecantile community from Rajasthan and Gujarat with the sole mission of commercial interest there and *vihāra-yātrā* of the Jainacaryas like Acarya Tulsi with his Anuvrata movement and other Acaryas to those places and in general Saivism gradually encroached upon the parts of the Jaina mission-territory in India.[99] There has occurred the great downfall of Jaina-*dharma* and its Sanghas, and gana-gacchas from a glorious height in this period in India as result of monastic capitalism of the Jainas.[100]

The outstanding feature of modern era of Jaina Sangha or Sanghas is origination, differentiation and final extinction[101] of a great variety of Jaina sects of which there are at least six main divisions. Although Tapa-gaccha and Kharataragaccha are still dominant in some parts of Western India, many other important gacchas have evolved in the fifteenth-sixteenth century A.D. onward, e.g., Lunka or Lonkagaccha,[102] Kadua-*mata*,[103] Bija-*mata*,[104] and Parsvacandra-*mata* [105] Lonkagaccha[106] was founded by Lonka Shah, once a follower of Tapagaccha in the fifteenth Century A.D. with the idea of anti-image cult. Next there issued Sthanakvasi sect[107] from Lonkagaccha on the question of moral laxity and Tera-panthi sect[108] from Sthanakvasi sect. under the spiritual guidance of Bhikhamji or Bhikhuji as a result of some crisis over the matter of some monastic ethical rules, such as *daya-dharma* and conduct of monks,

[99] The rise of Saivism in South and the conflict between Saivism and Jainism led to the clash between the followers of these two faiths in Maharashtra, Karnataka and other places. The archaeological evidences of the Siva temple at Kolhapur and other places show that the Saivites forcibly converted the Jaina temples into the Saiva temples by installing the image of Siva there

[100] It is a question for the scholars to enquire whether the capital of *devadravyas* collected from the Jaina Sravakas in cash and kind leads to monastic capitalism under the leadership of each Jaina Sanghapati or not.

[101] E g., Lunkagaccha is heard no more with its vigorous message of anti-image cult.

[102] See *Pattavali Samuccaya*, Pt. I, pp 66, 67, 150-172

[103] See *Pattavali Samuccaya*, Pt. II, pp 246-47.

[104] *Ibid.*, p. 247.

[105] *Jain Sraman Sanghka Itihas*, p. 106; *Pattavali Samuccaya*, Pt II, p. 248.

[106] *Pattavali Samuccaya*, Pt I, pp. 66-67.

[107] Really speaking, the birth of Sthanakvasi sect took place from Lonka-gaccha in the time of Dharmasinghji, Dharmadasa and Labji. The name Sthanakvasi came to be known later on. See *Pattavali-paraga Sangraha*, Kalyanvijayaji, p. 406

[108] Terapanthi sect was founded by Acarya Bhikhamji in the eighteenth century A.D. on the basis of thirteen principles, viz five great vows (*panca mahavrata*), five rules of conduct (*samitis*) and three self-controls of body mind and speech (*guptis*). See *Pattavali-paraga Sangraha*, p. 424.

rituals, etc. Similarly Taranapanthi sect[109] of the Digambaras emerged in the fifteenth century A.D. in Madhyapradesa on the basis of anti-image cult like Lonka sect of the Svetambaras. Then there followed the rise of other Digambara sects, viz. Terapanthi[110] in the 17th Century A.D., Gumanapanthi,[111] Bisapanthi[112] and Tolapanthi[113] in this modern era of Jaina Sanghas as a result of conflict over the matter of Jaina rituals, ethics, etc. The Svetambara and Digambara Sanghas thus have reached their peak in progress in the course of their evolution.

To be continued

[109] Taranasvami was the founder of Taranapanthi sect of the Digambaras on the basis of anti-image cult in the 15th Century. A.D. See *Jainism in Rajasthan*, p. 92.

[110] It was founded by Amarcand Badjatya, a resident of Sanganer in Rajasthan. This Terapanthi sect accepts only thirteen items of the idol-worship out of the large number of items of long ritualism of the Bhattarakas. See *JSAI*, p. 367, vide *Bhattaraka Sampradaya*, p. 92.

[111] Gumanapanthi sect was formed by Gumanarama, the son of Pandit Todarmal of Jaipur in the eighteenth century A.D. after his own name. See *Jainism in Rajasthan*.

[112] The Bisapanthi sect accepts twenty items of image worship instead of thirteen of the Terapanthi sect. It flourished in Rajasthan. See *Jainism in Rajasthan*.

[113] As a result of synthesis of the concepts of worship of the Terapanthi and Bisapanthi sects a new sect emerged with the name Tolapanthi. See *Jainism in Rajasthan*, p. 92.

BOOK REVIEW

MUNI UTTAM KAMAL JAIN : *Jaina Sects and Schools*. Concept Publishing Company, Delhi, 1975. 162pp. Price Rs. 50.00, $ 10

While the religion of the Nirgrantha has the golden aura of reason and perception in respect of the knowledge of Eternity, the voice of the Arhats echoes its message from time immemorial across the dawn of civilization Tirthankaras from Rsabha to Mahavira have bequeathed to the world an institution of thought and ideal constant in their emphasis on the greatness and worth of the individual towards absolute freedom from attachment and thereby from the bondage of mortal existence. It is the Nirgrantha whose glory has the same meaning and interpretation like his teachings in their essential grace. The rationalistic approach and purity remained ever the same in antiquity as it will remain as such in all time though the religion have been split into schools by devotees in their human endeavour to discover prismatic beams in the radiance of an ideal as if to make a stable rainbow out of the sun. The predilection for creating diverse sects and schools among the followers of the tenets of the Nirgrantha dates, so far known, from the age of Mahavira who stabilised and developed the doctrine of Parsva. Dr. Jain has made a valuable contribution in the field by giving a critical account of different Jaina sects and schools which developed since the epoch of the life and teachings of the 24th Tirthankara The writer has appropriately commenced from Parsvanatha whose spiritual legacy of *cāturyāma* merged in the ideal of *panca mahāvrata* enunciated by the doctrine of Mahavira. In the perspective of the accounts of the *Kalpa Sūtra* and the *Uttarādhyayana* the origin of Jainism acquires a special meaning. Recalling all these and the views of Charpentier and Guerinot one has to agree that Parsvanatha belongs to history Thus, Dr Jain points out,

"The scholarly introduction to *Uttarādhyayana* by Dr. Charpentier stresses that we should bear in mind that Jaina religion was essentially anterior to Mahavira. Parsvanatha had been an earlier historical personage and the original principles of Jainism were propounded far earlier than Mahavira Guerinot's remarks that Parsvanatha had been a historical personage is but an extremely revealing reference. There are no two opinions about it." (pp. 13-14).

In this connection the writer has shown that Parsvanatha "propagated his Nirgrantha Dharma among the wild tribes of West Bengal." Such a propagation, if it happened should have also involved the highly civilized chalcolithic settlements of the state covering mostly the old alluvium and the highlands of its Western region.

As regards the Jaina church the schisms commenced from the days of Mahavira Some of the eminent followers of the Tirthankara founded new schools of thought relying on their own learning and attainment. These new sects as offshoots of Jainism could not produce any novel splendour like the glory of new blossoms and, thereby, mostly vanished in the way of Time. Herein the story of the *nihnavas* will be of particular interest. Dr. Jain has given an interesting account of the seven *nihnavas*, the dissenters, who left the church of the Nirgrantha. As stated by Nemicandra's commentary on the *Uttarādhyayana*, the *Aupapātika* and the *Āvaśyaka-Niryukti* the attitude of the *nihnavas* may convey more sophistry than a spiritual bliss of any outstanding order. The writer has remarked that "because of some differences of opinion, and egotism, they became self-centered and established new sects." (p. 23). In fact, the stories of Jamali, Tisyagupta, Avvattagavadin, Asvamitra, Ganga, Rohagupta and Gosthamahila do not so much highlight a rift as much the personal enquiry of the devotee aroused as it were by the teachings of Mahavira. The writer sums up, " all these schisms never developed into serious rifts, but ultimately merged into the original church." (p. 29). Here it may be observed that, although the *nihnavas* failed to hold their ground for a long time being sometimes hard put by their own logic based on observation or experience their spiritual mode was evidently balanced on the foundation of worldly learning. Their ideals could not match with the reasoning and knowledge of Mahavira which it was realised, could transcend beyond all mortality as appropriate of a Jina. However, the manner in which the controversy took shape on occasions has little concern with the vision and perception of the Arthat. Such differences of opinion made an untoward escalation at Sravasti when Mankhaliputra Gosalaka (Gosala Mankhliputta), the founder of the Ajivika sect remonstrated against Mahavira to prove his own spiritual attainment. It is known from Jaina sources that though Gosalaka was originally a pupil of Mahavira he later on established the Ajivika sect independently after achieving a great knowledge. He proclaimed himself a Jina and lived at Sravasti with his followers. When Mahavira denied his claim to be a Tirthankara, it is said in the *Bhagavatī*, Gosalaka could not restrain his anger and tried to destory his former master by inflicting a psychic force known as *tejoleśyā*. But, since the *tejoleśyā* could not be effective upon a Tirthankara it ricocheted and caused the death of Gosalaka

through an incurable illness. As Dr. Jain tells on the basis of the *Bhagavatī*

"Then, with his end imminent, he called his followers and told them that Mahavira was really great and that he had harassed him out of revenge. This repentance for his earlier misbehaviour towards Mahavira induced the master to pronounce him fit for *mokṣa* in the long run." (p. 32)

The destiny of an eminent sophist like Gosalaka, who was formerly a close associate of Mahavira, is no doubt a commentary on the controversy among thinkers of this age. Here it may be mentioned that Gosalaka was born within a *gosālā* (cow-pen) at Saravana probably close to Sravasti which later on turned to be the main stronghold of the Ajivikas. Being challenged at Sravasti by a Kevali like Mahavira he gave way to the course of events The Ajivikas, no doubt, formed a powerful religious group in Magadha. It is known that Kunika-Ajatasatru waged war against Vaisali and its allies Kasi and Kosala at this time In this connection, the following statement of Dr. H. C. Raychaudhuri appears to be meaningful: "The war is said to have synchronised with the death of Gosala Mankhaliputta, the great teacher of the Ajivika sect. Sixteen years later at the time of Mahavira's death the anti-Magadhan confederacy is said to have been still in existence. We learn from the *Kalpa Sūtra* that on the death of Mahavira the confederate kings mentioned in the *Nirayāvalī Sūtra* instituted a festival to be held in memory of that event." (*Political History of Ancient India*, 4th edition, p. 173). Dr Raychaudhuri is aware about the controversy with regards to the time-gap between Mankhaliputta's demise and the *nirvāṇa* of Mahavira. According to Dr. Jain the remnants of the Ajivika sect are now represented by the Patua *Citrakāras* of Bengal and Bihar. Gosala's father was an eminent Mankhali being skilled in the art of painting to illustrate ancient ballads and events. The Mankhas were a class of religious mendicants who used to exhibit such pictures like the Patuas of Midnapur, Bankura and other districts of West Bengal. The Patuas are generally engaged in reciting old ballads on Puranic and other themes while unscrolling *jarāno pats* for illustration of dramatic sequels of such stroies. A class of Santhal *pats* still narrate unfamiliar or enigmatic legends seemingly imbibed from ancient times.

Dr. Jain's book contains a small chapter on the Ganadharas of Mahavira. By observing the list of the eleven Ganadharas, the "chief disciples" it appears that the teachings of the Tirthankara attracted on occasions the intellect of the Brahmins. As a matter of fact, the chief disciples from Indrabhuti to Prabhasa were Brahmin stalwarts.

The part III, chapter 5 of the book proves to be very informative regarding a discussion on the 'Svetambara-Digambara Split'. In this portion Dr. Jain voices the opinions of both the groups and traces the history of the rift on the basis of evidences at hand. After a study and analysis of the episode of Bhadrabahu, the story of Sivabhuti and Uttara as also the statements of the *Sthānāṅga*, the *Ācārāṅga*, the *Bṛhatkathākoṣa*, the *Āvaśyaka-Niryukti* and the *Uttarādhyayana* it would appear that the ideal of nudity for a monk aspiring to be an Arhat was ever a symbol of ultimate detachment from earthly bondage. It was the true colour of perfection around which were gathered the sentinels of eternal truth advancing for omniscience across the mirage of existence. Visibly the ideal manifested in the institutions of the *Jinakalpa* and the *Sthavirakalpa*. In spite of adjustments with social requirements the naked Tirthankara has the final glory with his destination to the *loka* of Sarvarthasiddhi. The sublimity of the nude male as if standing in the determination of *kāyotsarga* may be traced as far back as the civilization of the Indus vally. The Mauryan torso from Lohanipur bears witness to a faith which glittered like the morning star, the harbinger of a new awakening and experience. Apart from the account of the Gymnosophists, the naked philosophers who were noticed by the Greeks under Alexander the spiritual ideology underlying the concept of truth and beauty inspired as well the Hellenic and the Roman mind. Without touching the point of art where the sculptor delighted in freedom one may recall the following from the *Thoughts* of Marcus Aurelius:

"The Pythagoreans bid us in the morning look to the heavens that we may be reminded of those bodies which continually do the same things and in the same manner perform their work, and also be reminded of their purity and nudity. For there is no veil over a star." (Translated by Mathew Arnold).

Verily, the sublimity of life in its perfection begets no haze for superficial experience. Nudity can be on appropriate occasions an emblem of the Infinite. This may signify either the attainment of supreme knowledge by the Jina or the divine glory of the universe. The latter is manifest in various cults which envisage an altogether different perception and mood.

Apart from dealing on various aspects of Jainism mainly with regards to the history of the religion the writer has discussed about the 'divisions and sub-divisions' of the Svetambara and the Digambara sects. Such orders of different categories known as gana or gaccha, kula and sakha predominently emanated after the Gupta period. These have

inevitably elaborated the ancient doctrine of the Nirgrantha which soulfully treasured up the principles of the *cāturyāma* and the *pañca-mahāvrata*. According to the author the 'original form' of Senagana was Pancastupanvaya. A copper plate inscription dated G.E. 159 (478-79 A.D.) from Paharpur (now in Bangladesh) refers to Guhanandin of Pancastupinikaya who presided over a Jaina *vihāra* at village Vatagohali (Rajshahi district). Since the Senagana was also known as Surasthagana its connection with Saurastra has been suggested. In this connection it will be interesting to recall that according to K.V. Krishna Ayyar the ascetic order of the Essenes which produced John the Baptist belonged to the Senagana. (*Jain Journal*, October, 1976, p. 71). The scholar has drawn our attention to the disciplined and austere life of the Essenes who steadfastly followed an ideal of non-violence, non-injury, faith and kindness The Essenes lived in the wilderness of Syria and Palestine.

As already noted, the book of Muni Uttam Kamal Jain contains invaluable details in respect of various divisions of the Svetambara and the Digambara sects which will serve as an essential background for any serious study to be undertaken in this connection. The writer's analyses of materials regarding the Yapaniya sect and his concluding observations evince the talent of an erudite scholar in the field

DR. MADHU SEN : *A Cultural Study of the Niśītha-Cūrni*. Published by Sohanlal Jaindharm Pracharak Samiti, Amritsar, 1975 Parshvanath Vidyashram Series · 409pp Rs 30 00

A scientific study of ancient texts when fascinates one through the marbled lanes of a dependable historical research highlighting a variegated life amidst controversies the scholar working in the field feels himself amply rewarded. An epic of cultural material as the *Niśītha-Cūrni* calls for the patience, learning and a *forte* of scholars and will thereby distinguish a valuable research. The work is captivating but not as easy as wading over a verdure plain. Dr. Madhu Sen has made a significant contribution in Indological research by making a cultural study of the *Niśītha-Cūrṇi* not only in its own dimension but also in the perspective of other sources of diverse nature. Dating from 7th century A.D. the text throws an important light upon the various aspects of culture and society assignable to past epochs and traditions. The repertoire of items contained in the Mss. of the *Niśītha-Cūrṇi* belongs to a vast mural of history which will splendidly illuminate such subjects as polity, administration, social life, material culture, economic conditions, education, learning, literature, fine-arts and religion. In view of the importance of the material the text in recent years drew attention of a number of scholars dedicated in the

field of Jainology. A cyclostyled copy of the Mss. produced by Acarya Vijayaprema Suri and Pt. Jambuvijaya Gani and the subsequent publication of the *Niśītha-Cūrṇi* in 1960 by Upadhyaya Sri Amar Muni and Muni Sri Kanhaiya Lal 'Kamal' revealed a treasure of cultural material which was earlier noted by Dr. J C. Jain in his *Life in Ancient India as depicted in the Jaina Canons* (Bombay, 1947). As it appears, the canonical text of the *Niśītha* is as encyclopaedic for its details as some of the Brahmanical and Buddhist sources. For an example, it is well-known that, the accounts of the *Kathāsaritsāgara*, or the *Avadānakalpalatā* of Ksemendra or the Buddhist *Jātakas* are replete with details with regards to the different aspects of the life of a nation ranging from the social environment of a village to war, hunting, aesthetics, love, urban manners, courtly ambitions, chivalry and voyages across the occean. The present work of Dr. Madhu Sen reveals a rich field of study and again indicates that the Jaina *Bhāṇḍāras* and other collections may still retain other invaluable texts with their perishable folios. In fact, the *Niśītha-Cūrṇi* mirrors in its own way the multifarious aspects of a civilization with its contours of accomplishment and a glamour scintillating in its distinction before a perspective of centuries. While the accounts of polity and administration as highlighted by Dr. Sen will recall the earlier themes presented by the *Arthaśāstra* of Kautilya, as regards the social life the text appears to have detracted from the essential virtue of the religion of the Nirgrantha by making compromise with the caste-system as an institution proclaiming power and privilege of classes. Besides this aspect which is hard to reconcile with, the *NC* (*Niśītha-Curṇi*) is unique in its importance as a source of cultural history While describing the varieties of dress and ornaments mentioned in the *NC* Dr. Sen has surveyed the details with a scholarship that is decisively of an outstanding order. She has not only introduced us with a long list of clothes and textiles but she has also discussed on art and other literary evidences for illuminating the subject as it is obviously necessary in this connection. For an example the scholar tells that, according to the *NC* "Pondravardhana was another famous centre where the fine as well as the coarse varieties of cloth (*sanha* and *sthūla*) were easily available." The statement has been corroborated by other sources. "Kautilya refers to two varieties of the *Pauṇḍraka* cloth, one that was black and as soft as the surface of the gem and the other the *kṣauma* which was a variety of coarse cloth. Bana also considers pale silken *Pauṇḍra* cloth as decorous and respectable." (Page 159) Apart from discussing on washing, dyeing and stitching of clothes Dr. Sen has drawn our attention to the reference of such clothes as the *Khomma* (*Kṣauma*), *Dugulla* (*Dukula*), *Cināṁsuya*, *Kanaga*, *Kanagaphulliya*, etc. While refering to the dress of the nuns and the female in general a painting of the Ajanta cave has been recalled on one occasion. The *ardhoruka*,

a kind of short drawers mentioned in the *NC* has been worn by a queenly lady in the famous Toilet scene of the Cave No. XVII of Ajanta. The *NC* is not silent about the use of *bahirnivasinī* and *saṅghāṭi* as also the forms of *kañcuka*. The *kañcuka* or bodice could change as it is supposed in accordance with the tradition of the nunnery and the fashion of the affluent society or the chic. As shown by Dr. Sen,

"In the *Paumacariya* of Vimalasuri the *kañcuka* worn by Kalyanamala, who kept herself dressed up in male attire, is explained as a coat-like jacket full-sleeved and hanging upto the knees." (Page 169).

Dr. Sen's work contains important observations on fine arts including conventions of architecture. Apart from her learned considerations of the *caitya*, the *stūpa*, the *lena* and the *devakula* as finding place in the *NC* her study of secular architecture will remain as a lasting contribution. The description of the *śītagṛha*, a kind of 'cool-summer-house', the *mahāgṛhas* or large mansions, the *vasati*, i.e., the dwelling and the *prākāra* or ramparts are extremely important. The present publication also splendidly deals with subjects such as economic conditions, religion and social life, besides the medicine and health. From the *NC* it is known that, "the physicians always accompanied the army to the battle-field." Like the doctors of Roman army as depicted on emperior Trajan's column these physicians attended the wounded during action. They "usually carried with them their bags of surgical instruments (*sattha-kosa*)." The book of Dr. Sen has two valuable Appendices, one on the diseases mentioned in the *NC* and the other on the geographical names contained in the *NC*. It is difficult to agree with the writer with regards to some of the identifications presented in the latter including the instance of Paumdravardhana which should not be ordinarily identified with Pandya and placed between Jhelum and Ravi. More caution and explanation are perhaps necessary to identify Roma and Vaccha. It may be enquired whether Roma may be equated or connected with Rome. Similarly the question remains whether Vaccha can be identified with the kingdom of Vatsa with its famed capital Kausambi associated with the memory of Satanika and Udayana.

The book has a very useful Index and a Bibliography. *A Cultaral Study of the Niśītha-Cūrṇi* is beyond question an outstanding work in all respects.

—P. C. Dasgupta

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Sir, *Jain Journal* Vol. XI No. 1 July 1976 is before us.

Two articles entitled as 'Theory of *Mokṣa* in Jainism' and 'Omniscience a Fiction or a Fact' written by S. P. Bandyopadhyaya and G. R. Jain respectively certainly attract attention of all ones interested in the subject of axiology *Mokṣa* is the highest value realizable by the dynamic existence of man, and the omniscience is conceived to be the highest attribute of that realization. Both the concepts are the results of our speculative thinking on the ultimate point of human destiny. Now it is a point of great controversy if these two states of human life are or have ever been a fact. We may conceive so many things by our speculative intellect, but it is not always necessary that they in fact exist also. For example, we measure heat of the human body at 90°F. point and on that basis we may very well conceive of it at zero° or 1°F. in some organic being, but it is factually impossible. Similarly we conceive of the absolute existence of mathematical point and the line, but in actuality we obtain none. In the same way the *mokṣa* and omniscience can be conceived of by our intellect as a highest culminating point or evolute of our progressive life, but to call it an actuality is, to my view, erroneous. Omniscience, howsoever logical value and validity it might have can not be deemed as a fact. As a fact it is an impossibility.

We may controvert the point from another angle also. How can we be sure that we at a certain stage know all? The logical denotation of the term 'all' can not be measured beyond the perview of knowledge. What is within the perview of knowledge is sure to be measured also by any scale whatever, but how on the basis of what we know we may be sure of what we do not know? Howsoever wide-ranged knowledge might there be, we can not certainly claim that there is nothing left beyond our knowledge The universe that the term 'all' denotes, if it is to be factual, is certainly finite. Thus the omniscience dealing with such a universe is a contradiction in terms. If this universe is assumed to be infinite, it can not be factual and it is a universe of discourse only. In that way omniscience can not be a fact.

Now to deal with the concluding paragraph of Mr. G. R. Jain's article we may not agree with the implication of his scientific discussion of the preceding paragraphs. May it be that the Tirthankaras knew more than what today all the scientists put together know, but do we dare say that the science of today has reached or that of tomorrow will ever reach the point of omniscience If not so, then we are also not justified to call the Tirthankaras as omniscient beings. They may be regarded as seers or thinkers of highest order whatever we chose, but they can not be called omniscients.

yours, etc.

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